

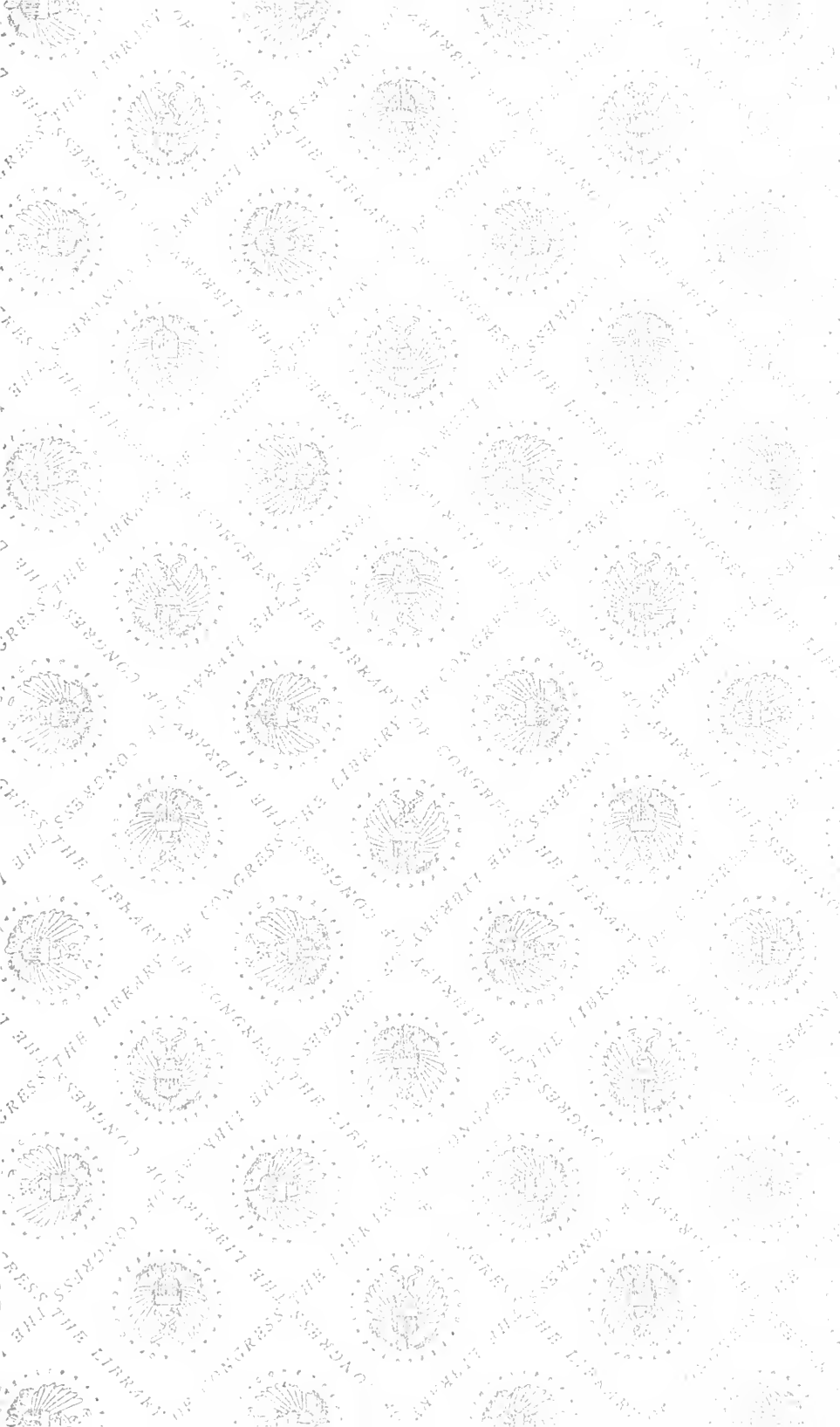
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John Forsyth

ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE OF GEORGIA.

FREDERICKSBURG, (VA.,) *August 29, 1840.*

On my way to the Indian Springs to meet such of my fellow-citizens as might comply with the invitation to be present at a dinner to be given to our Senators and three of our Representatives in Congress, on the 2d of September, I am detained here by a painful disorder, incompatible with the prosecution of my journey. In my own judgment, the detention is of no importance except to myself, as I cannot presume that my presence or absence will in the slightest degree affect the opinions and actions of any of the persons who may compose that assemblage. I regret it, nevertheless, as I am deprived of an opportunity to meet valued friends, and am unable to do that which others for whom I entertain a strong affection, and whose prudence and good sense give weight to their recommendations, have thought would be useful in the present agitated state of our country.

I have seen nothing to shake my confidence in the power of truth; nothing to make me doubt the futility of all attempts to delude the people by ingenious equivocations, artful exaggerations, blustering pretensions, or open falsehoods. When the spirit of inquiry is awakened, the people are not to be turned from the pursuit of facts by processions and parades, by travelling orators and ballad singers, by fiddlings and revelries. A careful investigation of those facts, and calm reflection upon them at home, give to the humblest citizen the power to decide wisely in whose hands the Chief Magistracy of the nation can be safely intrusted for the preservation of external peace, and a perpetuation of those domestic institutions with which are inseparably connected the harmony of the Union, and prosperity, national and individual. These will be used, and, being used, the result will be right. If it were necessary or proper, I could bear my humble testimony to the fidelity with which the declared opinions of the present incumbent have been acted upon. Necessary it is not, since the chief ground of objection to him is, that he has performed his engagements, and "followed in the footsteps of his predecessor." Proper it will not be considered, as I have been intimately associated with his administration, and identified in feeling and judgment with the great measures of its fiscal and foreign policy, and would be looked upon as a volunteer and interested witness. Instead, therefore, of speaking what I know and believe to be just of Mr. Van Buren and of General Harrison, I will use the right of every member of the community, to refer to things of common notoriety, which will aid my fellow-citizens in Georgia in discovering to which of these persons they may safely confide the Executive power, as it may influence or control the great questions—

- Of a protective tariff;
- Of internal improvements;
- Of appropriation and expenditure;
- Of the mode of keeping and disbursing the public funds;
- Of slavery, as it exists from the northern confines of Maryland to the Sabine and Red rivers.

(Questions of foreign policy are omitted, for, strange to say, they are not topics in the Presidential canvass, and on that subject the advocates of universal reform intend to make no change.)

On these questions the opinions of Mr. Van Buren and General Harrison have been in various forms and at different periods asked for. What their answers were, at what time and in what manner given, are well known facts. My fellow-citizens can readily decide, with these facts in view, which of these gentlemen agrees with them on these important and vital subjects. By comparing the explicit, frank, prompt, public, and uniform communications of Mr. Van Buren, given with like readiness to friend or foe, with the reluctant, equivocal, and not unfrequently contradictory givings out of General Harrison—sometimes by reference to former declarations, sometimes by letters from friends and friendly committees; again by speeches at arranged meetings, and then by private letters for *use* but not *publication*—they can, without difficulty, determine which of them deserves their confidence. Should any doubt remain, after this comparison, there are two other facts not unworthy to be remembered in forming a correct judgment: Mr. Van Buren has imputed to him by his advocates every where, the same opinions and the same principles; the opinions and principles imputed to General Harrison by his friends and supporters are variant and contrasted—chameleon like, they take their hues from the objects upon which they rest while you are called upon to examine them, and show a color to suit the region where they are presented to view.

Should the belief be entertained that the declarations of the parties themselves, or those of friends anxious to promote their success, are not safe guides, the motive to concealment, equivocation, or deception being so powerful, try the parties by the *experimentum crucis*.

In various stations each has been before the public for more than thirty years. Compare their professions with their acts, and then the results of each comparison. If still not satisfied, there are other broad facts that cannot fail to bring conviction to the honestly inquiring mind. A better judgment of the probable conduct of an administration in this country is to be formed by looking at the parties by whom its chief is brought forward, and by whom he will be supported if they succeed, than by a scrutiny into the particular opinions and political course of the person who is proposed for that station. Mr. Van Buren is the candidate of that party in *all* the States, who, under the lead of General Jackson, arrested the gigantic and mad scheme of universal internal improvement—who wrested the public money from the hands of irresponsible and doubtful corporations, and broke their power—who seek to reduce duties and taxes to the wants of the Government—and who believe that these wants admit of diminutions of the public expenditure; of a party every where arrayed against Abolition, and ready, at all hazards and at all times, to see that the constitutional guaranty of Southern property is fairly and faithfully maintained. He is equally acceptable to that party in the Southern, Western, Eastern, and Middle States—has been forced upon neither by combinations or intrigues.

General Harrison is the candidate of all the parties in the United States who can be brought to act against the present Administration by the common instinct of hatred. He was forced upon the southern portion of these parties by the combination of Anti-masonry and Abolitionism. Not one Southern vote was given to him in the Harrisburg convention. Among his supporters are ranked the high tariff and internal improvement men, under the banners of Mr. Clay; the high-toned politician of the New England States—who construe the Constitution like the common law, which, contracted as it may seem, expands indefinitely according to the supposed exigency of the times—who believe there is no safety or prosperity without the agency of a National Bank to manage the fiscal concerns of the

Government, and furnish a currency for the people—who opposed the late war, and established, according to opinions expressed in the British Parliament, a sort of understood neutrality with the enemy during its continuance—who acknowledge as their leader and standard-bearer, Mr. Webster, of Boston: the Abolitionists, of all colors, under Slade of Vermont, Seward and Bradish, Governor and Lieutenant Governor of New York, under whose auspices a deliberate attempt has been made, by State legislation, to evade that provision of the Federal Constitution which was adopted for the protection of Southern rights: the Conservatives, under the guidance of Mr. Rives, who have abandoned their former friends because the keys of the vaults where the public treasure is deposited are kept in the pockets of officers of Government, and not by cashiers of State banks; and who predict ruin and desolation to the country because that treasure can no longer, under the control of all sorts of State bank directors, be made the basis of loans to stimulate every species of corporation folly or private speculation: a fragment of the Nullifiers, under Mr. Preston and General Waddy Thompson, who have been whirled, like atoms of dust, from the chariot wheels of South Carolina, as they rolled into their ancient tracks in the ranks of Democracy.

The supporters of the General in Georgia, I need not designate. They are known—what they have been, what they are, and what they wish to be. Some of them have had, and have lost, popular confidence; some yet enjoy it; and they unite in their endeavors—the one to recover, the other to retain, popular favor. To effect their common object, they are closely allied to politicians whose principles they have solemnly rejected; whose conduct they have repeatedly denounced; whose objects they have always professed to abhor. If there is any truth in the maxim of *noscitur a sociis*, it will not be very difficult to decide, from this array of his friends, what reliance can be placed on General Harrison by Georgians.

The only Chief Magistrate to whom the Southern States can safely trust themselves, is one who will use the influence of his place wisely to lead congressional legislation on the subjects that must arise for discussion within the coming presidential term—the apportionment of representation, the system of revenue, the admission of new States into the Union; and one who will use his power fearlessly and fully to control all attempts at legislation on that subject which is exclusively Southern. On this there can be no parley, for it admits of no compromise. Those who agitate it, do evil, whatever be their pretences or their motives. Those who associate, combine, and act with those agitators, must look to have the finger of suspicion pointed at them. No Southern man, who will read dispassionately the address to the people of the slaveholding States, and the accompanying evidence, from the democratic members of Congress from those States, can have any excuse for mistaking his duty when he acts on this question. To the imbodyed evidence presented of the movements within the United States of the disturbers of Southern repose, may be usefully added a reference to what is going on abroad. The Government of Great Britain, which has always permitted the Canadas to be the asylum of runaway slaves, has, within a few years, converted all its West India possessions into places of refuge for them, and has formally declared that no claim for them will be availing, although they reach their possessions by fraud or violence. The same Government has been lately employing itself as the volunteer or selected agent of the Pope, in presenting an apostolic letter on slavery to some of the Spanish American States—a letter which it is not at all improbable was prepared under influences proceeding from the British isles.

Under its convention with Spain respecting the slave trade, it has commissioners in Havana scrutinizing into the commercial pursuits of all nations, and marking all vessels, not British, bound to the coast of Africa, as suspected of the slave trade, when loaded with cargoes which are lawful commerce in *English* vessels from *Sierra Leone* to *any parts* of the *slave coast* from whence the *slave factories* are supplied with them. It has black regiments in its service in the Canadas and in the West Indies. It is filling up the ranks of its army by the enlistment of recaptured Africans. Some of the statesmen and pamphleteers of England are engaged, since emancipation in the West Indies has diminished the productive value of their West India islands, in devising schemes to give a *present* preference in their markets to the productions of *free* labor, (like that in British India!) and gradually to exclude from them the products of the labor of slaves. Of the temper and intentions of the agitators of the question of slavery, and the means to be employed, abundant evidences are afforded in the proceedings of the "World's Convention," which met in London on the 12th, and continued until the 23d, of last June. Two resolutions were unanimously adopted, too significant to require much comment. Those resolutions denounce the removal of slaves from the old to the new States as an unrighteous traffic, of which eighty thousand are annually victims; as exciting detestation. Surprise and abhorrence are acknowledged, that it should be protected and cherished by this Government. That it involves hardness of heart in the traders, and cruelty to the negroes, is asserted; and that effectual means should be immediately taken to remove this *stain* from the *character of this nation*. Was there ever such a compound of ignorance, folly, and insolence? The brutal O'Connell was quite at home in such a convention; and his insults to the representative of a foreign Government near his own, his vituperation of two of our eminent public men, were quite in harmony with the occasion. The transportation of our property from Virginia to Louisiana, the internal slave trade, mark you, is "unrighteous," and effectual means ought to be taken in the United States forthwith to remove the *stain* from this nation. What are these means? We can guess. First, prohibition by Congress of the transportation of slaves by land or by sea from one State to another; next, a prohibition of the sale of slaves by one man to another in the same State; and then we shall be ripe for either the late Mr. Rufus King's or General Harrison's plan of gradual emancipation; the Government purchase of the blacks by the proceeds of the public lands, or by the use of the surplus revenue—taxes and duties being properly increased to make that surplus large enough to effectuate the object.

The shadows of the troubles in store for us, at home and abroad, are darkening and stealing upon us. What note of preparation is heard? What measures of precaution are required? The gravest thought and most anxious deliberation are demanded, to meet the dangers which will sooner or later come. What others may persuade themselves should be done, I cannot tell; but no step would seem to be better adapted to bring them upon us at an early day, and when we shall be utterly destitute of preparation, than placing the power of the General Government in the hands of the heterogeneous coalition that now seek to obtain it in the person of one without the requisite qualifications for the Chief Magistrate of a great republic, and who is accused, with too much appearance of truth, of having, in a public address, engaged, if elected, not to thwart Congress by the use of the VETO POWER.

The veto power ! a portion of the authority given to the Executive by the wise framers of our Government, which the incumbent of the Presidential chair can neither surrender nor trammel himself in the exercise of, without personal dishonor and treachery to the Constitution. The veto power ! the safeguard of the people against improvident legislation, or congressional encroachment on the rights of the States and of the co-ordinate branches of the Government. The veto power ! the ark of safety for the southern States ; used for them, it is impossible, while the equality of senatorial representation remains, and the present relative proportion of the slave States is preserved, for the phrenzy of fanaticism and the recklessness of associated party profligacy to disturb our repose, or assail our firesides, under the sanction of congressional enactments.

Mr. Van Buren is *pledged to use it* for that purpose—General Harrison *is not*.

JOHN FORSYTH.

APPENDIX.

State of the vote at the Harrisburg Convention.

As there will be natural anxiety to know precisely how the delegations from the various States voted, we have obtained, in an authentic shape, the following statement, showing the result of the first ballot in the Committee of States.

Result of the first ballot.

	Harrison.	Clay	Scott.
Maine - - - - -	10		
New Hampshire - - - - -	7		
Massachusetts - - - - -	14		
Connecticut - - - - -	-	8	
Rhode Island - - - - -	-	4	
New York - - - - -	-	-	42
New Jersey - - - - -	-	-	8
Pennsylvania - - - - -	30		
Delaware - - - - -	-	3	
Maryland - - - - -	-	10	
Virginia - - - - -	-	23	
North Carolina - - - - -	-	15	
Alabama - - - - -	-	7	
Louisiana - - - - -	-	5	
Mississippi - - - - -	-	4	
Kentucky - - - - -	-	15	
Indiana - - - - -	9		
Ohio - - - - -	21		
Missouri - - - - -	-	4	
Michigan - - - - -	(divided.)		
Vermont - - - - -	-	-	7
Illinois - - - - -	-	5	
	<u>91</u>	<u>103</u>	<u>57</u>

The vote first given for General Harrison never was reduced. After several ballottings had occurred, Connecticut changed her vote from Mr. Clay to General Scott; and Michigan (the third delegate having arrived) cast her vote in like manner: making Scott's vote 68, and reducing Mr. Clay's to 95. On the final and decisive vote, New York, Michigan, and Vermont changed from Scott, and Illinois from Clay, and voted for Harrison.—*American*.

Apostolical Letter of our Most Holy Lord, Gregory XVI, by Divine Providence, Pope, against the traffic in negroes. (De negritarum commercio non exercendo.)

ROME.

From the press of the Rev. Apost. Chamber, 1839.

POPE GREGORY XVI.

For future commemoration.

Placed on the summit of apostolical power, and through no merits of our own, Vicegerent of Jesus Christ the Son of God, who through his exceeding love became man and vouchsafed to die for the redemption of the world, we deem that it becomes our pastoral solicitude that we should seek to turn the faithful altogether from the unfeeling traffic in negroes, or any other human beings. Verily, when the light of the Gospel first began to diffuse itself, those unfortunate men, who, by occasion of so many wars had fallen into cruel servitude, felt their condition among Christians very much alleviated. Inspired, indeed, by the Divine Spirit, the Apostles taught servants to render obedience to their masters in the flesh, as unto Christ, and to do the will of God with a cheerful mind; yet they commanded also unto masters that they should use their servants kindly, that they should render unto them what is just and right, and that they should not employ threats, remembering that the God of both is in heaven, and that with Him there is no respect of persons. Since, then, true charity towards all men is everywhere strongly inculcated by the evangelical law, and Christ our Lord has declared, that whatever kindness or mercy is rendered or denied to the weak or the indigent, he will consider as rendered or denied unto himself, it is clear that not only should Christians regard their Christian servants in the light of brothers, but also that they should humble themselves before those who are worthy to be free; which, indeed, Gregory Nyssenius indicates to have been customary, at first, upon the occasion of the solemnities of Easter. Nor were those wanting, who, animated by a more ardent charity, *delivered themselves into bonds that they might redeem others*; of whom the Apostle testifies that he knew many, as also our predecessor Clement I, of most holy memory. Therefore, in the progress of time, when the darkness of heathenish superstitions was entirely dissipated, and the manners of uncivilized races had been mollified by the beneficent influence of that faith which worketh through love, for successive ages, no slaves existed among many Christian nations. Yet, truly, we are grieved to say that afterwards, even among the number of the faithful, there were those who, shamefully blinded by the lust of sordid lucre, in scattered and remote lands reduced Indians, negroes, and other unfortunate beings, into slavery; or, the traffic in those who had been made captive by

others having been commenced and augmented, did not hesitate to encourage or profit by such unworthy actions. Several of the Roman pontiffs, our predecessors, did not, indeed, fail to reprehend severely, by virtue of their office, the course of these as noxious to their own salvation, and opprobrious to the Christian name; from which they beheld as a consequence the nations of the unfaithful confirmed in their animosity to our true religion. To which things relate the apostolic letter of Paul III, given on the 29th of May, 1537, under the ring of the Fisherman, to the Cardinal Archbishop of Toledo: and another, and ampler, of Urban VIII, given on the 22d of April, 1639, to the Collector of the Laws of the Apostolic Chamber in Portugal; in which letters they are gravely rebuked, by name, *who reduce into slavery western or southern Indians, who buy, sell, exchange, or give them away, separate them from their wives and children, despoil them of their goods or possessions, carry or send them to other regions, or in any manner deprive them of their liberty, retain them in servitude, or render counsel, favor, or assistance to those who are guilty of such acts, under any pretext or color whatever; or presume to teach or preach the same to be lawful, or in any manner co-operate therewith.*

These decrees of Pontiffs to be ever held in remembrance, Benedict XIV subsequently confirmed and renewed, in a new apostolical letter to the prelates of Brazil and certain other regions, given on the 20th December, 1741, in which he stimulated their vigilant solicitude throughout the bounds of their ecclesiastical districts. Before this, however, a more ancient of our predecessors, Pius II, when, in his day, the power of the Portuguese was extended to Guinea, the region of the negroes, gave a letter, on the 7th October, 1462, to the bishop about to proceed thither, in which he not only granted to this prelate all the faculties opportune for the exercise of the holy ministry with greater fruit, but, on the same occasion, gravely rebuked those Christians who carried away converts into slavery. And also, in our own times, Pius VII, impelled by the same spirit of religion and charity which animated his predecessors, employed his influence assiduously with the powerful, that the traffic in negroes might, at length, altogether cease among Christians. These decrees and efforts of our predecessors did, indeed, avail not a little, by the grace of God, in protecting the Indians, and others referred to, from the cruelty of invaders, or the cupidity of Christian merchants; not so much, however, that this holy see can rejoice in the full accomplishment of its desires; since the traffic in negroes, although diminished in some parts, is still practised by many Christians. Wherefore, we, desiring to avert so great a reproach from all the borders of Christianity, and the whole matter, a council of some of our venerable brethren the Cardinals being called, having been duly weighed, walking in the footsteps of our predecessors, by our apostolical authority, admonish and conjure, earnestly in the Lord, the faithful of Christ, of every condition, that hereafter they do not unjustly molest Indians, negroes, or any other race of men, nor spoil them of their goods, nor reduce them into slavery, nor render countenance or assistance to those guilty of such practices; nor carry on that inhuman commerce by which negroes, as though they were not men, but mere brutes, held in any manner of servitude, without distinction, against the laws of justice and humanity, are bought, sold, and devoted to cruel and sometimes intolerable labor; and, moreover, through the love of gain held out to the first possessors of the negroes, dissensions and perpetual wars fomented throughout the regions which they inhabit. Verily, all these practices, as altogether unworthy of the Christian name, we reprobate by our apostolical authority; and by the same authority we strictly prohibit

and interdict any ecclesiastic or layman from defending the traffic in negroes as lawful, under any pretence whatever, and from presuming to preach, or in anywise teach, in public or private, any thing at variance with the admonitions contained in this apostolical letter.

And in order that this letter may be more readily known to all, and that no man may plead ignorance of it, we decree and order that, as is the usage, it be published, and copies of it remain affixed on the doors of the church of the Prince of the Apostles, and of the Apostolical Chamber, and of the General Court in Monte Cetatario, &c., by one of our messengers.

Given at Rome, in the church of Santa Maria Maggiore, under the ring of the Fisherman, on the 3d day of December, 1839, of our pontificate the ninth year.

ALOISIUS CARD, LAMBRUSCHINI.

General Anti-Slavery Convention, called by the committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society; held in London on the 12th June, 1840, and continued by adjournment to the 23d of the same month.

The following resolutions were passed unanimously:

Resolved, That this convention has heard with deep regret and sorrow of the extent to which the internal slave-trade is carried on from the older to the more newly settled slave States of the American Union—to the extent of upwards of 80,000 victims annually to this unrighteous traffic.

Resolved, That in expressing their detestation of this traffic, and in acknowledging that it excites their deep surprise and abhorrence that it should be protected and cherished by a nation which has abolished the African slave trade, and declared it to be piracy; this convention is impressed with the conviction that such a systematic trade in man must be attended with excessive cruelty and wrong to the objects of it, and involves in its prosecution a fearful extent of barbarity and hardness of heart on the part of the man-trader, and that effectual means ought to be forthwith taken in the United States of America to remove this stain from the character of the nation.



